

May Jehle, Benita Blessing**Using Classroom Recordings in Educational History Research. An East German Civics Lesson**

Students learned in civics lessons in the German Democratic Republic (GDR, or East Germany) that their socialist society uniquely guaranteed all individuals the right to work, and that, as good socialists, they had the duty to take on socially meaningful work. Using the example of a video recording of an East German civics lesson and its transcription, this article demonstrates how to use audio-visual sources in historical scholarship on educational research. In this manner, we offer a new source in the evaluation of the East German state's attempt to socialize young East Germans to value work as part of their socialist responsibility to the nation.

Im Staatsbürgerkundeunterricht der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (DDR) sollte den Schüler_innen vermittelt werden, dass nur in einer sozialistischen Gesellschaft das Recht auf Arbeit gesichert ist und dass damit auch die Pflicht eines sozialistischen Staatsbürgers zu gesellschaftlich nützlicher Tätigkeit verbunden ist. Am Beispiel einer Videoaufzeichnung einer Unterrichtsstunde zu dieser Thematik und ausgewählten Transkriptauszügen diskutiert der Artikel, wie audiovisuelle Quellen in der historischen Unterrichtsforschung genutzt werden können. Diskutiert werden damit auch die Möglichkeiten der Erschließung einer neuen Quelle zur Erforschung des Versuchs staatlich organisierter Erziehung, die den Schüler_innen die Bedeutung von Arbeit als eine sozialistische Errungenschaft und als Verpflichtung jedes sozialistischen Staatsbürgers zugleich vermitteln sollte.

Keywords

GDR, East Germany, Cold War, civics lessons, employment, unemployment, right to work, national duty, socialism, videorecordings, educational research, methodology, Oral History, students, teachers

Consequences of Unemployment in the Capitalist West

Male student: They start up with pot, or, um, become criminals, or (...)

Another male student: Well, that then they probably go rob banks, to get money.

Teacher: Umm-hmm.

Student: Juvenile delinquency goes up.

Teacher: Yes. Do you know where juvenile delinquency is highest?

Another student: In the USA.

Teacher: In New York.

1 Introduction

The claim of full employment in the German Democratic Republic (GDR, or East Germany) has long been recognized as a "matter of politics, not of economics" (Sperlich 2006, 127). Without a doubt, the GDR's constitutional guarantee of employment did not follow market principles and contributed to a distorted labor market in the GDR and ensuing persistent unemployment in that region after German unification in

1990. Yet, a history of work in the GDR that focuses only on economic analyses of "disguised unemployment" and "overmanning" (Nativel 2004, 2) neglects the social and cultural aspects of how East Germans understood their role in a policy of full employment. In this article we use a video recording of a secondary school civics lesson to demonstrate how East German students and their teachers constructed a shared paradigm of individual and collective responsibility to work for and as part of their socialist state.

The lesson we analyse is a video recording that is part of a larger collection of recordings of civics lessons in the GDR from the archive of the Academy of Educational Sciences of the GDR (*Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften*, hereafter APW), located in then-East Berlin. These recordings, primarily made for the research school of the department of pedagogy that was housed in the APW from 1978-1986, were used in research projects regarding the training and continuing education of teachers. Along with similar recordings from the GDR's Humboldt University (1970-1989) and other educational colleges from these periods, they fell into obscurity after German unification. A key problem was the loss of equipment made to play these recordings, as well as unfavourable storage conditions of the films that threatened to damage them beyond repair. A series of research projects (see <http://www.schulunterricht-ddr.de/>) allowed for the digitalization of the recordings, making them available for scholars in accordance with data privacy laws in an online databank (http://www.fachportal-paedagogik.de/forschungsdaten/bildung/studie.php?studien_id=4).

Because these recordings present a relatively new historical source, discussions about methodological considerations for their use in educational research are at an early phase (Schluß, Jehle 2013). However, contemporary documents, including recorded evaluations of discussions in the APW's research school

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about the lessons, informational films for educators based on audiovisual excerpts of exemplary instruction, and Oral History interviews with the director of the video we present here and the teacher featured in it have helped provide insight into the recordings' uses and evolution.¹

We have transcribed the video recording in order to enhance our ability to document the audio and visual aspects of this lesson, rather than merely summarizing key themes in it. After a brief overview of basic questions regarding transcription as a research aid, including its explanatory possibilities and limits, we describe how we use the transcript in our analysis. This discussion then underlines the need to bring in other sources such as contemporary textbooks and teaching aids in order to identify the approximate date of this recording, as well as to facilitate viable interpretations of the pedagogical aims of this lesson and the degree to which it can be regarded as typical of civics lessons in the GDR.

2 Issues regarding documentation and transcription

The documentation of a historical moment that is based primarily on the transcription of a video recording immediately faces the problem of the creation of the transcript itself, a phenomenon that Dinkelaker and Herrle identify as the "overcomplexity of videographic data" (Dinkelaker, Herrle 2009, 41).² Transcription, given the impossibility of an exact transmission of content from one medium to another, cannot claim to provide a textual duplicate of a recording (Reichertz, Englert 2011, 21-22). Nor is the transcript intended to replace the video; underpinning our analysis is the recognition of the "tape as the final authority" (Jordan, Henderson 1995, 45). We have therefore selected a transcription method that makes the best use of a recording's ability to show discretely the sequence and simultaneity of communication and interactions of the filmed subjects (Erickson 1992, 219; Jordan, Henderson 1995, 48; Dinkelaker, Herrle 2009, 44-51). The transcription excerpts here show the discussions that take place during the lesson alongside the accompanying actions that are observable and/or audible.

A further column includes details about the cameras' settings. This information provides the basis for the different perspectives that contribute to how a given scene is constructed and perceived. Moreover, an analysis of camera angles and shots allow for the "action that is shown" to be distinguished from "action of showing" and to question the degree to which the lesson takes on performative dimensions, turning it into a staged production during the recording.³ Since the data collection in the form of a transcription is always intertwined with the analysis of the recording being transcribed, there can never be a final version of it; it is always a working transcript that can and must be edited and reworked alongside and throughout the process of analysis.

3 Civics Lessons about the right and duty to work

3.1 Background information about the recording

The theme of "The Right and Duty to Work" (Video File: "Das Recht und die Pflicht zur Arbeit") discussed in this recording was included in the civics curriculum for the eighth grade under the topic "The Rights and Duties of the Socialist Citizen". The students in this class are between thirteen and fourteen years of age; there are approximately twenty-five to thirty students in the class. Based on the information available to us through the videorecording and other documents, it is not possible to ascertain the gender ratio. However, it is likely that, given demographic statistics and the students who are visible on-screen and, and to a lesser degree, student voices off-screen, that there are about the same number of girls and boy in this class.

In a June 2012 interview, the teacher of this lesson remembered that this instructional unit generally bored students, since they were not interested in regulations, laws or the role of the state in society. The exact date of this lesson is unknown; however, in this recording, the teacher reads newspaper articles from the 17th and 20th of February 1982 to the students, narrowing the possible timeframe somewhat, since it is a logical assumption that she was using current materials. Other indicators point to the likelihood that this lesson took place during the testing stage of the new curriculum that was implemented in 1983; during the aforementioned interview, the teacher also vividly remembered this period of testing out these lesson plans and the emphasis on "problem-based instruction" (*problemhafte Unterrichtsgestaltung*) that was intended to facilitate the Marxist-Leninist-oriented dialectal approach to teaching and learning.⁴ The lesson plans themselves and the accompanying new teaching aids increase the probability that the teacher based her lesson on the new curriculum, including the way in which the lesson reflects the model of problem-based instruction.

3.2 Transcript excerpts

We have selected the first fifteen minutes of the recorded lesson as illustrative of a GDR civics lesson concerned with the question of work in a socialist society. The analysis of this section is presented here in two parts, with parts of the transcribed lesson presented in text. The full transcript of these fifteen minutes can be found at the end of the article in the original German and translated into English. We make occasional reference to the entire hour, summarizing important aspects not included in the part of the transcript presented here.

A few words regarding the constellation of the classroom and cameras are in order: Students who can be seen on-camera are identified by gender and seat number, for example, S(tudent)f(emale)(seat number)9, Sf9. Information about the student that is not available is indicated by a question mark (?). Three cameras were used to record the lesson. One camera stands to the front and left of the room and recorded a frontal view of



the class, whereby the middle and right rows of benches can be seen. The left row of benches cannot be seen. This camera angle is noted as "class" in the transcript. A second camera is positioned to the rear of the classroom on the right side, and shows the chalkboard and part of the two right rear rows of benches. This angle is noted as "chalkboard". The third camera is focused on one female student (Sf9); other students (Sm8, Sm12, Sm13, S?17) can also be seen. This angle is noted as "partial".



Camera perspectives (from top down): 'class', 'chalkboard', 'partial'

S?16		S?17		Sm19	
Sm12		Sm13 Martin / Marten		Sm18 Michael	
Sm8		Sf9		Sf14	
Sm4 Frank		Sf5		Sm10	
Sf1 Marion		Sm2 Carsten		Sm11	
Sf3		Sf6		Sm7	

Based on this information, the seating chart (above) can be reconstructed:

Only the benches that are visible in the recording are noted in the seating chart. Those students who are called on by name are given aliases to protect anonymity. Since only parts of S?3, S?16 and S?17 can be seen, their gender remains unknown. Another problem is presented with students who have the same names. Thus, in addition to "Carsten" (Sm2), there is another student out of the camera's range named "Carsten". There are also two students named "Michael"; one is visible in the recording (Sm18) while the other is not. One student, Sm13, is sometimes identified as "Martin" and at other times as "Marten". It is probable that there is another male student in the class named Marten – which would explain the confusion of names – who sits in the left section of the class, off-camera.

In the approximate first ten minutes of the sequence, the teacher writes down students' terms that address the meaning of work for the individual. The recording starts after the beginning of the class – the teacher had written the word "work" on the chalkboard and then asks what students associate with the word. It is possible that the terms "rights and duties" had been mentioned before the beginning of the recording, which the teacher writes on the chalkboard at the beginning of the recording. Based on the students' answers ("livelihood is [...] guaranteed", "you earn your living", "the right to work", "increase in the standard of living", "good apartment", "wages", "societal conditions"), the teacher writes "guarantees livelihood", "subsistence", "increase" and "wage" on the board. After the teacher once again encouraged the students to be more "concrete", she

reminds them of the assignment. At this point, 2:31 minutes have elapsed, and at this point the first transcript excerpt begins (See Transcript Excerpt 1 in the appendix).

The following stills show the development of what appears on the chalkboard:



At this point, the teacher transitions from writing students' suggestions on the board to a discussion of the meaning of work for individuals (see Transcript Excerpt 2 in the appendix).

4 Beyond the GDR: A lesson about unemployment

After the class discusses the meaning of work for people during the first quarter-hour, the lesson turns to the theme of "unemployment". The teacher introduces the topic by opening up the chalkboard so that the terms from the first ten minutes are visible. She then asks students for answers to the question "And now think for a second about what it would mean for someone who doesn't have any work?" As students read the terms from the chalkboard out loud, she responds by drawing a line through the benefits that someone without employment would not be able to enjoy. At the end, it is clear that all aspects of guaranteed employment would fall away.



The teacher announces that the class should think of examples to go with the phrases on the board, but first asks the students about their ideal jobs, which she comments on favourably. In response to the answers to her question as to why students were so certain that they would be able to practice their chosen professions, which could be summarized as society guaranteeing them employment, one student protested that individual ability played a role. The teacher decided to let those comments stand and moved on to the next part of the lesson, reading two newspaper articles from "Neues Deutschland", the central organ of the SED (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*), the GDR's official political party. Both reports dramatically portrayed the situation of unemployed youth in West Berlin and London as a desperate one with no hope of a solution.

The teacher then provided data about unemployment in the West (see the student notes below), which juxtaposed 28.5 million unemployed in capitalist countries with the fully employed population of the GDR (17 million), although the source of these statistics or their context is unclear. The teacher concluded that, in the face of these numbers, "No one here, more than that even, would have work, not a single person." She then went on to state that, in the "FRG" (an abbreviation for the Federal Republic of Germany, or West Germany, that

the West did not use during the Cold War in order to distance itself from the common usage of "GDR"), it was only possible to receive unemployment benefits after twelve months of employment, a condition that no one could meet upon completing secondary school if immediate employment could not be found. Then her next question: "So, what happens if you don't have any guarantee of support, if you get nothing, what's the final consequence of that?"

The discussion then took place as follows (see German version in appendix):

Sm?: They start up with pot, or, um, become criminals, or (...)

Tf: (Umm-hmm.) That's what you all wanted to say, right, what did you want to say, Marten?

Sm13: Well, that then they probably go rob banks, to get money.

Tf: Umm-hmm.

S?: Juvenile delinquency goes up.

Tf: Yes. Do you know where juvenile delinquency is highest?

S?: In the USA.

Tf: In New York. Yes, youth, um, crimes committed by young people, is highest of all. There are whole city districts, where foreigners, for example, who go to New York, where, at the airport, before anything else, where they are given a pamphlet where it says that you shouldn't take this or that subway line, we're warning you that you shouldn't go to this or that area, and at night, after such-and-such a time, don't you dare go out on the street, no matter what. Because youth gangs, of course, they will try to earn a living somehow. So criminality is the highest in New York, in the entire world.

S?: Yeah I saw this news report once, they, they took, so they arrested this boy, he was fourteen years old, had a, he had a knife, and then he, well four, he pushed his way into a hotel, in an elevator, and he threatened four people, umm, that they give him their jewellery and cash.

Tf: And that's not unusual, right. It's just normal. So where are young people s'posed to earn a living? It doesn't give them a single chance.

The students repeat the drastic formulations in their answers that the newspaper articles employ about the hopelessness of young people's situation in the West, naming drug use as the first likely crime that those western youth would likely turn to as an escape. The students' claims are not put into any kind of context by the teacher, who affirms their validity by placing them into one single narrative about "criminality" in New York. Even the news report that one student mentions is not seen as unique, but rather as an unassailable generalization with the teacher's remark that "And that's

not unusual, right." The message of this lesson, that capitalism robs people "of the right to work, the most important human right that they have," is made clear by the entry that the teacher directs students to write in their notebooks:

"Work is the basis for human life.

Work is the source of all wealth.

It is the basic condition for life... it created people.

Unemployment: 28.5 million in capitalist industrial states, of which 14 million is young people.

Capitalism denies humans the right to work."

In the last ten minutes of the class, the teacher turns to the possibility of "the absolute enforcement (*Durchsetzung*) of the right to work" by means of a socialist revolution, which would bring about the elimination of private ownership of the means of production. She then instructs a student to read a section out loud from the GDR's constitution, which guarantees all citizens of the GDR the right to work and fair wages.¹ The students then are directed to read a paragraph of the constitution on their own and identify topics that had not yet been discussed in class. The objective here is to guide the students to the issue of socialist citizens' duty to work, a point that Sm13 starts to address. After acknowledging his point, she then begins to wrap up the lesson and gives the students their homework assignment: "Why is work also a duty?", which they are to talk about with their parents and friends at home and bring notes about the answers to the next class. The teacher instructs the students to stand – the official signal for the end of the class – and the recording stops as well.

5 Comments

5.1 Normative or typical?

Before turning our attention to the first fifteen minutes of the lesson, it is perhaps helpful to understand how this teacher's approach to the subject fit into larger discussions by the APW about best teaching practices. This same teacher had already been the subject of another video recording about a similar theme with a different class; the resulting film, a selection of highlights of that hour, became part of the APW's informational films for educators (Video File: "Forschungsgegenstand Unterricht"). In the introduction to the film, a commentator presents it as part of a research project that identified successful examples of effective use of problem-based instruction that encouraged students in civics classes to engage actively with the material. After an excerpt from the teacher's class is shown, the commentator observes that the teacher had again demonstrated the successful use of the appropriate pedagogical concept throughout the class – suggesting that the teacher's lessons were a trusted source for

modelling good teaching that could be used in instructional training. Clearly, not all civics lessons would have included every element shown in this video; more important is its normative aspect. That is, the APW intended for viewers to regard this as representative of an ideal civics lesson.

5.2 Role of the teacher in problem-based instruction

In the first transcript excerpt, in which the teacher asks for students' ideas about the meaning of work, there is no actual presentation of a problem that – using the terminology of contemporary literature on the subject – contains a "contradiction" that would push the students to solve the problem. It seems more important to the teacher that the lesson be connected to the students' lives, an approach that does reflect a tenet of problem-based instruction (Feige 1974, Fuhrmann 1986). The likelihood that the teacher was consciously working within a framework of problem-based instruction is furthermore demonstrated by the teacher's later memory of students normally not being able to see a connection between the topic of the lesson and their own life experiences, so that she was careful to help students make this connection in class. The initial question of the teacher does not do this successfully; after all, "work" in the sense of employment was not yet part of students' life experiences. Since their answers had been too general, she brought in the issue of wages and how students imagined their future professional hopes and dreams. Their responses seem more typical of modest, bourgeois aspirations than socialist ones; indeed, the students' and teacher's delighted reaction to Sm2's response that he wanted a house and car point to the limited possibilities open to students for such high aspirations.

It is interesting to note that, for the second time, the students bring up relatively quickly the topic of the "right to work", even before the teacher is ready to discuss that point in the lesson. It seems that the students might have anticipated that this theme would continue to play an important role throughout the rest of the class. Having ignored for all intents and purposes the first response regarding this topic by writing a different concept on the board, the teacher now points to the board and the concepts "rights / duties" written there and summarizes the answers as part of "the material side" of work. By inserting herself into the discussion, she offers the students an example of how they might make associations with the term "recognition", so that she is able to tie the students' examples back into their own lives and experiences. The idea of a "collective" is dealt with fairly swiftly before the end of this phase of the class. Perhaps the teacher suspects that the students will not have much to say about this topic; it might also be the case that she is trying to get through the entire lesson and decides to move to the next stage of it. In any

case, it is clear that she has been successful in facilitating a high level of student participation in this part of class, as evidenced by the numerous responses that can be seen in the transcript.

5.3 Classroom interaction:

Limits and possibilities of analysis

When the teacher asks (Transcript Excerpt 2) which answer students like best regarding the question of what work means for the individual, the difficulty of using recordings of a class to document what actually happened in the classroom becomes clear. Sm13, for example, is addressed as "Martin", but then later as "Marten", making it almost impossible to reconstruct who said what. Sm7 and S?3 respond to "Marten's" answer, but given the content of their responses, they do not mean Sm13. Who, then, is Sm13? He might be "Martin", or "Marten"; his visible reactions to parts of the discussion offer evidence for either possibility. Because we sometimes only hear, and do not see, the teacher talking to "Martin" and/or "Marten", we do not have enough evidence to know with certainty which students are actively participating in class.

This confusion is important in recognizing the limits of our ability to understand the interactions in the classroom. It is impossible to know whether student participation is evenly spread throughout the class, or if there are students who passively listen to the lesson. If one person dominates the discussion, then it is possible that some students see no connection between the topic at hand and their lives, or else are not interested in helping construct an atmosphere where all members of this particular collective have the right and duty to learn the lesson presented to them as part of their education to become responsible socialist citizens. When the teacher asks for clarification about Sm13's answer that work comprises the basis ("*Ausgangspunkt*") of everything, other students chime in with answers that included work as the basis of life. The teacher does not seem to notice the difference in these expressions and asks Sm13 to make a full sentence out of the phrase. The student then incorporates the element of "life" into his answer, whereby she insists that he had said something else in his earlier answer. After he still does not provide the exact phrase that she is looking for, she pushes him to specify "whose life?" He gets closer to her desired answer with "for the individual", which she reformulates on the board as "Work is the basis for human life", with the side note that this answer would include individuals anyway. The work involved in the creation of this grand statement could be interpreted to mean that students cooperated in the endeavour to provide an acceptable answer to the teacher that also made sense to them. Still, it falls clearly to the teacher to make the final decisions about how to articulate the lessons that

students are to learn. What is less clear, despite the technology of camera recordings, especially given the relatively lengthy dialogue between Sm13 and the teacher, is how inclusive the problem-based instruction was, or even could be.

The teacher then transitions to the next step in the lesson, showing the students a quote from Friedrich Engels that she had already written on the right side of the chalkboard. It is a shortened form of the quotation found in the revised teaching aids, which suggests using it to prepare students from the homework assignment of discussing "The Meaning of Work in Socialism" (Autorenkollektiv 1984, 56). Several students respond after the teacher instructs them to compare the two phrases on the chalkboard ("Work is the basis for human life" and "Work is the source of all wealth. It is the basic condition for life... it created people"). The teacher uses the question about the degree to which work created humans as a bridge to make a joke about Engels, distancing herself from a too dogmatic identification with him or all his ideas: Tf: "(Laughing) Engels also said that humans came from apes, we're not quite of the same opinion there"), and then continues with a brief historical summary of socialist understandings of the relationship between work and humans. These presentations of the material reflect the appendix to the teaching manual that accompanies the new textbooks (Autorenkollektiv 1987, 50). Older textbooks do not include guidelines to follow this line of instruction (Autorenkollektiv 1982, 92-97); not until the 1984 revised teaching aids does the use of historical knowledge as part of this lesson receive mention. Earlier versions of the teaching aids, in line with the accompanying textbook, foresee the lesson as an introduction to the basic concepts of Article 24 of the GDR's constitution regarding the right of all citizens to work (Autorenkollektiv 1975, 123). In contrast to the clear emphasis on societal perspectives on the topic as outlined in the teaching aids (Autorenkollektiv 1984, 56), the teacher brings the question of the perspective of the individual to the forefront. Most of the students' answers that address the meaning of work within its existential dimension point to their understanding of the teacher's intended goal for the lesson, but they have difficulty constructing the exact sentence that she is looking for. After one student tries and fails to come up with a satisfactory response, the teacher takes over and helps him finish his thought with the provocative formulation, "How you work is how you....(?)" The student then completes the statement: "...live".

During the brief sequence in which the teacher departs from the lesson, Sm10 catches Sm13's eye. Sm13 crosses his arms over his chest, a gesture that Sm10, Sm11 Sm13 immediately imitate. Many interpretations are possible regarding this visible exchange between students; of concern here is more that the scene offers an example of the challenges of analysing the various events in the

classroom. Although the transcripts of this part of the lesson offer a clear illustration of such classroom interactions, the camera is ultimately focused primarily on the "front stage", that is, on the teacher and the way in which she conducts the lesson. A closer look at the scene, however, allows a glimpse into the "back stage", where students typically interact with each other, possibly responding to, but independent of, the teacher's pedagogical aims. Other scenes show similar student activity that might not, at first glance, seem relevant to the lesson and certainly do not belong in the official conceptions of classroom behaviour. Nonetheless, although there are no clear guidelines on how to incorporate these other aspects of class activity in an analysis of this recording about a civics lesson, it is evident that the use of multiple tools of analyses – the video recording itself and its transcription – demonstrate the agency of students that is both part of and removed from the construction of the lesson between the various members of the classroom.

6 Questions for further research

The comments of these transcript excerpts pointed to multiple possibilities for using recordings of classroom instruction in educational research. In order to make sense of the original APW documentation of the hour with video cameras in a historical analysis, other sources are of significant help: lesson plans, teaching aids, textbooks, and contemporary pedagogical discussions (such as the articles of educational journals on the teaching of history and civics, like *Geschichtsunterricht und Staatsbürgerkunde*). Moreover, an analysis of such a recording can provide information about the teacher's pedagogical objectives, especially in terms of the research program on problem-centred instruction. In addition to the APW's publication on their evaluation of the recordings, other recordings of events such as education conferences and written observations of classes might also prove fruitful for a further understanding of how this video recording can help further research on the development of civics courses in the GDR.

Other research questions opened up by our analysis here include a further discussion of the degree to which the implementation of new pedagogical models can be reconstructed using historical video recordings, as well as whether different disciplines might need different approaches in such endeavours. It would certainly appear useful to consider video recordings of classrooms within the related secondary literature on pedagogical models of civics lessons (Grammes, Schluß, Vogler 2006; Blessing, Grammes, Schluß 2012). Questions of the role of the cameras as part of a conscious or unconscious "staging" of a lesson are also in need of further scholarly attention, both in order to recognize any distortions that the act of recordings might bring into the lesson and as a

basis for reflection on how the way a lesson is filmed influences interpretations of what we are actually seeing – or not seeing. Certainly, the interdependence between transcript and recording must be part of such considerations. Finally, we have demonstrated that more analyses of such recorded lessons and transcripts of them are necessary in the on-going development of a methodology for their use as a historical resource, including new possibilities for accessing the role of civics lessons, but also other disciplines, in the formation of young socialists. We close with the observation that new online data banks make it possible to store entire transcripts of recorded lessons, which the space of printed journals does not generally permit; such an endeavour would significantly enrich our ability to make full use of these sources.

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Endnotes:

¹ See Mirschel (2013) for additional scholarship on autobiographical sources regarding the APW video recordings.

² All translations by authors unless otherwise noted. When possible, we have attempted to maintain the language register used during class: The teacher and students in this video recording have a distinctly Berlin accent and use colloquial language at times. As in any classroom setting the teacher and students do not always finish sentences or thoughts, which can be seen in the transcripts.

³ For an in-depth discussion of "staging" ("*Inszenierung*"), see Jehle, Schluß 2013, 44-51.

⁴ For a discussion of the theory on problem-centered learning in GDR civics lessons, see Vogler 1997, 226-239. Note: the English concept of "problem-based instruction" as currently used is not generally associated with Marxist-Leninism, although does capture the way in which the lessons are conceptualized (Memory, Yoder, Williams 2003).

Appendix:

German version of quoted/documentated discussion in the article:

Sm?: Sie greifen also zu Haschisch, oder, ähm, wern zu Verbrechen, oder

Lw: (Mhm.) Das wolltet ihr sagen, ja, was wolltest du noch sagen, Marten?

Sm13: Naja, dass die dann wahrscheinlich Banken überfallen, um sich Geld zu verschaffen.

Lw: Mhm.

S?: Die Jugendkriminalität steigt an.

Lw: Ja. Wisst ihr, wo die Jugendkriminalität am höchsten ist?

S?: In den USA.

Lw: In New York. Ja, ist die Jugend, äh, ist die Jugendkriminalität, überhaupt die Kriminalität am höchsten. Dort gibt es ganze Stadtviertel, da werden zum Beispiel Ausländer, die nach New York kommen, vorher schon, am Flugplatz, kriegen die ein Schriftstück in die Hand und da wird gesagt, du darfst die und die U-Bahnlinie nicht benutzen, wir warnen dich davor, in die und die Stadtviertel zu gehen und abends nach soundsoviel Uhr, betrete auf gar keinen Fall die und die Straßen. Weil dort jugendliche Banden, natürlich nun versuchen, sich auf irgendeine Weise ihren Lebensunterhalt zu verdienen. Und das Verbrechen ist also in New York am höchsten, auf der ganzen Welt.

S?: Ick hab mal n Filmbericht jesehn, da ham, ham se en Jungen ge-, also festgenommen, der war vierzehn Jahre alt gewesen, der hat n, mit m Messer, hat er vier, is er in n Hotel

eingedrungen, in Fahrstuhl, da hat er vier Leute bedroht, ähm, dass sie ihm den Schmuck und det Jeld geben.

Lw: Und das ist keine Seltenheit, nich. Das ist also gang und gäbe. Wo solln die jungen Menschen nun ihren Lebensunterhalt herbekommen? Es gibt ihnen keiner eine Changse.

Transcriptions

Transcription key:

Tf – teacher (female)

Sf – student (female)

Sm – student (male)

Ss – students (plural)

() – unclear

(xxx) – quiet or difficult to understand

(number) – Pause, in seconds

@ - Laughter

@xxx@ / @xxx – spoken laughingly

L - overlapping

° - change in camera angle

1. Sequence (00:02:31-00:10:39): Discussion of terms about the meaning of work for the individual

Time-code	Camera	Speaker	In-class conversation	Other classroom activities
00:02:31	class	Tf	I want to remind you of the assignment so that you don't start going down too many different paths. Think concretely about what the individual achieves with work? What can people achieve with it? You've said wages", with wages an individual can guarantee subsistence. And now I want to have more about that." Let's get rid of the apartment, you can pay your rent with that, etc. So, what else, then, about subsistence?	Sm4, Sf1, Sm2 lower their hands, Sm10 keeps his hand raised Tf points , Tf go towards the chalkboard, draws an oval around "wages", Sf1 raises hand, Tf draws an arrow next to subsistence, walks towards the class, points with her index finger , Sm10 changes the hand he is raising Sm4 lifts right arm, strokes his hair, , Sm2, Sm19 raise their hands.
00:02:54	chalk-board			
00:03:02	class			
00:03:14	chalk-board	Sm2	Um, the money, that someone earned," they can buy something, afford something.	
		Tf	L Yes exactly, yes exactly,, subsistence, () you can acquire something. Imagine that you're ploughing now, @you're finally done with school@, Carsten, und then you've managed it and now you get° the coolest job, that you could ever dream of, and then you earn a bunch of money, what're you gonna do with it? Do you share it with your friends, @yes, and you say, hey, you guys can also live it up, you should see how a worker like that gets along, right, or what?	Tf goes to the chalkboard, draws an arrow downwards away from "work", turns to class Sm12 props up his chin with his hand Sf9 turns left, laughs S?17 raises hand
00:03:27	partial			
00:03:44	class	Sm2	Um, nope, I would° bring home (part for my wife), maybe I'd get me, so I'd buy things, that you need for everyday stuff.	Sm10, Sm18, Sm19 raise their hands Sm10 lowers hand
		Tf	And? Don't you have any hopes, any dreams?	
		Sm2	Yeah, well, that comes later.	Sm7 raises hand, Sm10 raises hand Sm13 drums on the table with his right hand
		Tf	@HaHaHa@ Can't you at least start, what kind of a dream do you have, Carsten?	Sf1 laughs Sm7 lowers hand, Sw5 raises hand
		Sm2	Um, well, maybe a house and a (car)	Laughter among the Ss
		Ss	@@@	
00:04:06	partial	Tf	@hehheh@ I've been dreaming about° that my whole life @, a house and a car. Wonderful. Anybody else have such dreams? What do you dream° about?	Sf9 laughs, Sf5, Sm12, S?17 raise their hands Sm13 drums on the table with his right hand
00:04:14	class			
		Sf?	Maybe now when you, well, you'd want to renovate the apartment and get new furniture	Sf5 raises her arm Sm10 turns to look behind him Tf goes to the chalkboard
00:04:37	chalk-board	Tf	So, what can I write down here? Acquiring things, yes, we acquire things. Things for personal, I'll abbreviate that here, for personal use° (.) and when you get married, Carsten's already thinking about that one, then he of course wants a little house with a garden, where he can live with his family, a commendable plan. Good, so, acquiring things, you can do that with work." What else? (Carsten.)	Sm4, Sm18 raise their hands, Tf writes something on the chalkboard,, Sm10 raises his hand Tf writes on the chalkboard, draws an arrow downwards from "work", Sm4, Sf5 raise their hands; Tf turns to class, walks towards them Sm10 raises his hand
00:04:53	class			
		Sm?	Maybe get insurance.	Sm5, Sf5, Sm10, Sm18 raise their hands Sm18 lowers his hand
		Tf	How come?	
		Sm?	Huh, so that you're insured, so if something happens to you, like with the car or (house)	
		Tf	L (comprehensive insurance) Right, so what else?	
		Sm?	You have the right to work ()	Sm 10 lowers his hand Sf6 raises her hand
		Tf	Mmm. We've been there already. Now we've said, w-, a worker or when we work we get wages or a salary, and	

00:05:53	chalk-board	Sf?	we can use that to get things for our personal use, we can use our salary that we need every day to live, I'll include rent and everything here. But that by itself is just the material side, are there other things that work gives to people? (.) I'm excited about "Teacher's Day". Could you tell me, why I'm excited about "Teacher's Day"? For yourself in the position of Mrs. Bode, who has taught for twenty-six years and why would I still get excited about "Teacher's" Day?"	Sm2 raises his hand Sm4 lowers his hand and raises it again Sf5 lowers her hand Sf6 lowers her hand, Sm10 raises his hand, lowers it again, Sm18 raises his hand, lowers it again, Sm2 lowers his hand partially, holds it in from of his face, lowers it slowly; Sm7 raises his hand, S?3 raises hand; Chuckles among Ss Sm10 raises his hand
00:06:03	class	Tf	(Because) you finally get recognition, you're praised for your work.	S?3, Sm10 lower their hands Sm4 lowers his hand
		Sm4	Good. Through praise. More, what else? Who can think of something else?"	Sm4 raises hand Tf gestures to call on someone
		Tf	By honours maybe.	Sm10 bent forward, chin in hands
		Sm2	Umm. Carsten.	
		Tf	Or something nice from your husband.	
		Sm?	Right. Of course.	Tf points left Sf6 turns around to the back briefly, laughs Sm4 looks quickly to the side, grins; Sf9 quickly looks to the side, Sm10 grins Tf goes to the chalkboard
00:06:33	chalk-board	Tf	Maybe a prize or something, so, after you've worked for a while.	Tf writes something on the chalkboard
00:06:37	class	Sm?	Excellent. Well, I think it gets a little more concrete with Mrs. Bode. That means, then, recognition, you've said now, Carsten has said recognition from my husband, (is) my family, but you've said even more about that, a prize, who gives it" to me, who recognizes me, you also just , said something" that goes together with recognition. Go ahead.	Sm10 raises his hand Sm10 briefly lowers his hand, raises it again, begin to snap his fingers to get Tf's attention, S?3 raises hand, Tf points towards the right Sm4 raises his hand high in the sky to get Tf's attention S?3, Sm7, Sm10, Sm11, Sm15, Sm19 raise their hands; Sf4 raises her hand, Sm13 hesitates Sm4, Sm10 raises other hand Sm7, Sm11 lower their hands Tf points to Sm4
		Sm?	From other teachers and people, too.	Sm10 lowers his hand, props his head on both hands, Sm7 raises his hand briefly, Sm13 raises his hand Ts underlines "larger sense", large gesture with arm, Sm13 lowers his hand, Sm4 raises his hand, Tf calls on him, all others lower their hands.,
		Tf	Yes.	Tf goes to the chalkboard, writes something Tf goes towards the chalkboard Adds more arrows to the chalkboard picture that point down and to the left under "recognition by society"; Sm10 still sits with his chin on his hands , Sf6 looks down at the desk with lowered head; Tf turns to Sf1, who turns away; Sf6 looks up
00:07:06	chalk-board	Sm4	Basically from the state.	S?3, Sm4, Sf6, S?17 raise their hands Sm15 raises hand
00:07:11	class	Tf	Maybe we can say that in a larger sense?	Sm4, Sf6, Sm15 lower their hands Sm13 hesitates and then raises hand Sf1 raises hand, turns to the side, lowers hand, S?3 lowers arm, Sm4, Sf5, Sf6, Sm7, Sm11 turn to the side Sm10 takes his right arm off the desk Sm11 raises hand briefly Tf looks to Sm11, who nods and smiles; Tf goes towards the chalkboard, Sm11 looks to the side; Tf writes something on the chalkboard Chalkboard now shows arrow pointing left under "pride of achievement, joy of work", Tf turns to class and walks towards them,
		Sm4	From society.	
		Lw	Lovely. So, really super, recognition from society, and then there's something in that for all of us. When you get your grades at the end of the year or semester," and there's not just the grade for the class, but there are" a bunch of small certificates that are a recognition, an affirmation for you, that you're good, that you've been very good. What happens then inside you? Something happens. Carsten.	
		Sm?	You're happy inside.	
		Tf	Right.	
		Sf?	You're excited about next year.	
		Sm?	You're proud of yourself.	
00:07:50	chalk-board	Tf	Pride. (.) Good, you did a great job, so recognition means then, pride about what you've accomplished, right? Pride for the accomplishment. You enjoy work". And of course you also have, if you are good and really good, I () have to start with me again, it's always best, you guys have known me for quite some time now, then the recognition isn't only about that, that you get a price, rather you started as a teacher and did your job well and then come the others and say, actually	

00:08:25	class	Sm?	Umm. (.) A, um, work leader -, or an administrative function. °	Tf points to the left, Sf1 raises her hand Tf nods
		Tf	Right, right.	Sf1 lowers hand, Sm11 raises his hand
		Sm?	Maybe a salary increase.	
		Tf	Mmmhmm.	
		Sf?	You're presented as a () role model.	Sm4, Sm7, Sm19, Sf1 raise their hands
		Sm7	You can get certified to do something.	Sm19 lowers hand
00:08:42	chalk-board	Tf	Wonderful. So, that means certification () for work°, (3) and you are successful, and being successful, that is always an experience. When someone's not successful, I think that you have all felt that way in such a situation, yes, you've worked really hard and thought that you gave your best and then don't get° any recognition for that. And what you had planned, it just goes down the drain. So then you're really feeling down and out. Well, and all that, then you go home on your last legs, and you say, Man, just leave me alone, no experience of success, (no more work). So, and this topic that we've talked about, it is closely connected to work, and we have to remember one point, you don't work alone after all. You don't study alone. So what else belongs to the concept of work – for you guys I could substitute studying?	Sf1, Sm4 lower their hands; Tf goes to the chalkboard, draws an arrow pointing left: "qualification, experience of success," goes back towards the class
00:09:06	class			Sm2 hits his left hand with his right
				Tf goes towards the chalkboard, Sf9 turns around to look behind her Tf goes towards the class
		Sm12	Competition with each other.	Sm13 raises his hand
		Tf	Yes.	Tf points in the direction of Sm13
		Sm13	To act as a collective.	
00:09:55	chalk-board	Tf	(Right.) That is, the collective° (3) and contact to other people (3), that's really closely connected with work. Good job everybody. Frank, something else occur to you?	Tf goes to chalkboard, draws an arrow pointing upwards and left: "Collective/contacts to other people", goes back towards the class
00:10:18	class	Sm4	Maybe also, um,° use your wages for your free time?	
00:10:33	chalk-board	Tf	Of course, yes, you can do that too. So, do we wanna stop here? I know, @you'll think of other things if we kept talking, certainly, we'd think of a lot else°, but it's not like it's the last time that work or study plays such an important role in our lives.	
00:10:40				

1. Sequenz (00:02:31-00:10:39): Begriffssammlung zur Bedeutung der Arbeit für den Einzelnen

Zeit	Kamera	SprecherIn	Unterrichtsgespräch	Andere Aktivitäten
00:02:31	Klasse	Lw	Ich möchte euch noch mal an die Aufgabe erinnern, damit ihr nicht zu viel Umwege geht. Überlegt konkret, was erreicht der Einzelne mit der Arbeit? Was kann er dadurch alles für sich erreichen? Ihr habt gesagt, den Lohn°, mit dem Lohn sichert er sein Lebensunterhalt. Und jetzt möchte ich dazu mehr haben.° Die Wohnung lassen wir mal weg, sicherlich, dafür kann er denn Miete bezahlen und soweit. Was denn noch, hier, mit dem Lebensunterhalt?	Sm4, Sw1, Sm2 lassen die Arme sinken, Sm10 meldet sich noch Lw gestikuliert, Lw geht Richtung Tafel, zeichnet ein Oval um „Lohn“, Sw1 meldet sich, Lw zeichnet Pfeil zu Lebensunterhalt, geht auf Klasse zu, gestikuliert mit dem Zeigefinger, Sm10 wechselt Arm beim Melden Sm4 hebt rechten Arm, streicht sich über den Kopf, Sm2, Sm19 melden sich
00:02:54	Tafel			
00:03:02	Klasse			
00:03:14	Tafel	Sm2	Äh, das Geld, was er erwirtschaftet °hat, damit kann er sich was kaufen, was leisten.	
		Lw	L Na eben, na eben, der Lebensunterhalt, () der kann sich etwas anschaffen. Stell dir mal vor, du ackerst jetzt, haste endlich @die Schule hinter dir@, Carsten, und dann hastes jeschafft und jetzt kriegste° den schicksten Job, den du dir überhaupt vorstellen kannst und da verdienste ne Menge Geld, was machstn damit? Verteilste unter deinen Kumpels, @ja, und sachst, hier, könnt ihr auch mal leben, sollt ihr mal sehn, wies so nem Arbeiter geht, ja, oder wie?	Lw geht zur Tafel, zeichnet Pfeil nach unten weg von „Arbeit“, wendet sich zur Klasse Sm12 hat Kopf auf linken Arm gestützt Sw9 blickt nach links, lacht S?17 meldet sich
00:03:27	Auschnitt			
00:03:44	Klasse	Sm2	Äh, nö, ich würde° (n Teil der Frau) mitbringen, vielleicht würd ich mir, also, Sachen kaufen, die man für n täglichen Bedarf braucht	Sm10, Sm18, Sm19 melden sich Sm10 lässt Arm sinken
		Lw	Und? Hast du keine Wünsche, keine Träume?	
		Sm2	Also, das, das kommt später dran.	Sm7 meldet sich, Sm10 meldet sich Sm13 trommelt mit rechter Hand auf den Tisch
		Lw	@Hehehe@ Kannste nich schon anfangen, was hast n du für n Traum, Carsten?	Sw1 lacht Sm7 lässt Arm sinken, Sw5 meldet sich
		Sm2	Äh, vielleicht n Einfamilienhaus und n (Auto)	Heiterkeit unter den SuS
		SuS	@@@@	
00:04:06	Auschnitt	Lw	@hehe@ Davon° träum ich n ganzes Leben lang @, ein Einfamilienhaus und ein Auto. Wunderschön. Hat jemand noch etwa solche Träume? Wovon träumst denn° du?	Sw9 lacht, Sw5, Sm12, S?17 melden sich Sm13 trommelt mit rechter Hand auf den Tisch
00:04:14	Klasse	Sw?	Vielleicht wenn man jetzte, na, man möcht ja auch mal die Wohnung wieder neu renovieren und neue Möbel anschaffen	Sw5 meldet sich Sm10 dreht sich nach hinten um
		Lw	Also, was kann ich hier hinschreiben? Anschaffungen, ja, wir schaffen an. Anschaffungen für den persönlichen, ich kürze mal ab, persönlichen Bedarf° (.) und wenn ihr verheiratet seid, der Carsten denkt ja schon da dran, dann will er natürlich das Häuschen mit Garten haben, wo er seine Familie gut unterbringen kann, ein löblicher Vorsatz. Gut, also, Anschaffungen, kann man durch die Arbeit erreichen.° Was noch? (Carsten.)	Lw geht zur Tafel Sm4, Sm18 melden sich, Lw schreibt etwas an die Tafel, Sm10 meldet sich Lw schreibt an Tafel, Pfeil von „Arbeit“ nach unten, Sm4, Sw5 melden sich; Lw wendet sich zur Klasse, auf sie zu Sm10 meldet sich
00:04:37	Tafel			
00:04:53	Klasse	Sm?	Vielleicht eine Versicherung abschließen.	Sm5, Sw5, Sm10, Sm18 melden sich Sm18 nimmt Arm runter
		Lw	Warum denn das?	
		Sm?	Na, damit man ebent gesichert ist, wenn eenem mal was passiert, zum Beispiel mit dem Auto oder (Haus)	
		Lw	L (Kasko) versichert, nich, ja gut, was noch?	
		Sm?	Man hat auch Recht auf seine Arbeit, ()	Sm 10 nimmt Arm runter Sw6 meldet sich



00:05:53	Tafel	Lw	Mhm. Das ham wer schon dran. Wir haben jetzt gesagt, w-, der Arbeiter oder wenn wir arbeiten kriegen wir Lohn oder Gehalt, dafür könn wir persönliche Anschaffungen machen für unsern Bedarf, wir können unsern Lebensunterhalt, das was wir täglich zum Leben brauchen, ich zähl jetzt mal dazu die Miete und alles, auch mit abdecken. Das allein ist aber nur die materielle Seite, gibt es vielleicht noch andere Dinge, die die Arbeit für den Menschen bringt? (.) Ich freue mich auf den Tag des Lehrers. Könnt ihr mir mal sagen, warum ich mich auf den Tag des Lehrer freue? Versetzt euch mal in die Lage der Frau Bode, Lehrerin seit sechsundzwanzig Jahren und warum freu ich mich immer noch auf den Tag ⁹ des Lehrers?	Sm2 meldet sich Sm4 nimmt Arm runter und meldet sich wieder Sw5 nimmt Arm runter Sw6 nimmt Arm runter, Sm10 meldet sich, nimmt Arm wieder runter, Sm18 meldet sich, nimmt Arm wieder runter, Sm2 lässt Arm sinken, hält ihn vors Gesicht, nimmt ihn langsam runter; Sm7 meldet sich, S73 meldet sich; Schmunzeln unter SuS Sm10 meldet sich
00:06:03	Klasse	Sw?	(Weil) endlich die Anerkennung kommt, da wird man von den andern mal geehrt für seine Arbeit.	S73, Sm10 nehmen Arm runter Sm4 nimmt Arm runter
00:06:33 00:06:37	Tafel Klasse	Lw	Gut. Durch die Ehrung. Weiter, was noch? Wem fällt noch was ein? ⁹	Sm4 meldet sich Lw: Geste des Drannehmens
		Sm4	Durch die Auszeichnung vielleicht.	Sm10 vornübergebeugt, Kopf auf Ellbogen gestützt,
		Lw	Mhm. Carsten.	
		Sm2	Oder ne Freude von Ihrem Mann.	
		Lw:	Richtig. Klar.	Lw zeigt nach links Sw6 dreht sich kurz nach hinten um, lacht Sm4 blickt kurz zur Seite, grinst; Sw9 blickt kurz zur Seite, Sm10 grinst Lw geht Richtung Tafel
		Sm?	Vielleicht auch ne Prämie so, also , wenn man ne Zeit gearbeitet hat.	Lw schreibt etwas an die Tafel
		Lw	Prima. Also, ich glaube, mit der Frau Bode wird es ganz konkret, nich. Das heißt also, Anerkennung, nun habt ihr ja gesagt, Carsten sagt Anerkennung durch meinen Mann, (is) meine Familie, ihr habt aber gesagt, noch mehr dazu, ne Prämie, wer gibt sie ⁹ mir, durch wen werde ich anerkannt-, -kannt, du hast eben auch ⁹ etwas gesagt, was mit der Anerkennung zu sammenhängt. Bitte.	Sm10 meldet sich Sm10 nimmt Arm kurz runter, meldet sich wieder, fängt an, zu schnipsen, S73 meldet sich, Lw zeigt nach rechts Sm4 meldet sich mit ganz ausgestrecktem Arm S73, Sm7, Sm10, Sm11, Sm15, Sm19 melden sich; Sw4 meldet sich, Sm13 zögert Sm4, Sm10 wechseln den Arm beim Melden Sm7, Sm11 nehmen Arm runter Lw zeigt auf Sm4
		Sm?	Durch andern Lehrern und durch andern Leuten auch.	Sm10 nimmt Arm runter, stützt Kopf auf beide Hände, Sm7 meldet sich ganz kurz, Sm13 meldet sich
		Lw	Ja.	Lw unterstreicht „noch größer“ mit Armbewegung, Sm13 nimmt Arm runter, Sm4 meldet sich, Lw nimmt ihn dran, alle andern lassen Arm sinken
		Sm4	Im Endeffekt vom Staat.	Lw geht Richtung Tafel, schreibt etwas an
		Lw	Vielleicht könn wers noch größer formulieren?	Lw geht wieder Richtung Klasse Tafelbild ergänzt um weiteren Pfeile nach links unten „Anerkennung d. d. Gesellschaft“ Sm10 hält Kopf immer noch aufgestützt, Sw6 blickt mit gesenktem Kopf auf den Tisch; Lw wendet sich Sw1 zu, diese blickt weg, Sw6 blickt wieder auf S73, Sm4, Sw6, S717 melden sich
		Sm4	Von der Gesellschaft.	Sm15 meldet sich
		Lw	Fein. Also, ganz große Klasse, Anerkennung durch die Gesellschaft, und damit hängt natürlich etwas für jeden von uns zusammen. Wenn ihr am Ende des Jahres oder zum Halbjahr euer Zeugnis bekommt ⁹ , und da ist nicht nur drauf die Zensur für das Fach sowieso, sondern da liegen ⁹ noch lauter kleine Urkunden drin, die eine Anerkennung sind, eine Bestätigung für euch, dass ihr gut und sehr gut gewesen seid. Was passiert dann in euch? Da geht was vor. Carsten.	Sm4, Sw6, Sm15 nehmen Arm runter Sm13 meldet sich nach Zögern Sw1 meldet sich, blickt zur Seite, nimmt Arm wieder runter, S73 nimmt Arm runter, Sm4, Sw5, Sw6, Sm7, Sm11 blicken zur Seite Sm10 nimmt rechten Arm vom Tisch Sm11 meldet sich kurz Lw blickt zu Sm11, der nickt und lächelt; Lw geht Richtung Tafel, Sm11 blickt zur Seite Lw schreibt etwas an Tafel Tafelbild: Pfeil nach links unten „Stolz auf die Leistung, Freude an der Arbeit“, Lw dreht sich zur
		Sm?	Man freut sich innerlich.	
		Lw	Richtich.	
		Sw?	Man is angespornt für das nächste Jahr.	
		Sm?	Man is stolz auf sich.	
		Lw	Stolz. (.) Gut, dass habt ihr prima gemacht, die Anerkennung bedeutet also, Stolz, auf die eigene Leistung, ja? Stolz auf die Leistung. Man hat Freude an der ⁹ Arbeit. Und natürlich hat man auch, wenn man dann gut und sehr gut is, ich () muss mal wieder mit mir anfangen, s is immer am besten,	
00:07:50	Tafel			

00:08:25	Klasse	Sm?	ihr kennt mich ja auch schon ne ganze Weile, dann sieht die Anerkennung nicht nur so aus, dass man ne Prämie bekommt, sondern man hat als Lehrer angefangen, und dann hat man seine Arbeit gut gemacht und dann kommen die andern und sagen, eigentlich	Klasse, geht Richtung Klasse
		Lw	Äh.(.) Eine, äh, Arbeitsleitung-, oder eine Leitungsfunktion.	Lw zeigt nach links, Sw1 meldet sich Lw nickt
		Sm?	Richtich. Richtich.	Sw1 nimmt Arm runter, Sm11 meldet sich
		Lw	Vielleicht eine Lohnerhöhung.	
		Sw?	Mhm.	
		Sm7	Man wird als Vorbild () hingestellt.	Sm4, Sm7, Sm19, Sw1 melden sich
		Lw	Man kann sich qualifizieren.	Sm19 nimmt Arm runter
00:08:42	Tafel		Wunderbar. So, das heißt also, qualifizieren () für die Arbeit°, (3) und man hat Erfolge und Erfolge zu haben, das ist schon immer ein Erlebnis. Wenn ein Mensch keine Erfolge hat, ich glaube, euch gings allen mehr oder weniger doch schon mal in so ner Situation da, ja, ihr habt euch angestrengt und habt geglaubt, das Beste zu geben und dann kriecht° ihr keine Anerkennung. Und das, was ihr euch vorgenommen habt, das ist so richtig in die Binsen gegangen. Na, dann seid ihr richtig innerlich fix und alle, dann geht ihr so richtig auf n Röhren so, nach Hause, und sagt, Mensch, lass mich bloß zufrieden, kein Erfolgserlebnis, (keine Arbeit mehr). So, und dieser Bereich, den wir jetzt hier durchgesprochen haben, der hängt doch auch mit der Arbeit zusammen und ein Punkt müssen wir noch be-rücksichtigen, du arbeitest ja nicht allein. Du lernst nicht allein. Was gehört also zu dem Begriff Arbeit, für euch könnt ich einsetzen Lernen, noch dazu?	Sw1, Sm4 nehmen Arm runter; Lw geht Richtung Tafel, schreibt an: Pfeil nach links: „Qualifizieren, Erfolgserleben“, geht wieder Richtung Klasse
00:09:06	Klasse			Sm2 klopft mit rechter Hand auf linke Hand
		Sm12	Der Wettbewerb vielleicht untereinander.	Lw geht Richtung Tafel, Sw9 blickt nach hinten
		Lw	Ja.	Lw geht Richtung Klasse
		Sm13	Als ein Kollektiv wirken.	Sm13 meldet sich
00:09:55	Tafel	Lw	(Richtig.) Das heißt, das Kollektiv° (3) und die Kontakte zu anderen Menschen (3), das ist mit der Arbeit ganz eng verbunden. Das habt ihr ausgezeichnet gemacht. Frank, dir fällt noch was ein?	Lw zeigt Richtung Sm13
00:10:18	Klasse	Sm4	Vielleicht auch noch, äh°, den Lohn für die Freizeit verwenden?	Lw geht Richtung Tafel, schreibt: Pfeil nach links oben: „Kollektiv/ Kontakte zu anderen Menschen“, geht wieder Richtung Klasse
00:10:33	Tafel	Lw	Natürlich, ja, das kannst du auch. Wolln wer mal an dieser Stelle Schluss machen? Ich weiß, @euch fällt bestimmt noch das ein oder andere ein, wenn wir noch länger darüber reden, sicherlich, da fällt uns noch viel ein°, aber das ist ja nich das letzte Mal, dass das Arbeiten oder das Lernen in unserem Leben eine so bedeutsame Rolle spielt.	
00:10:40				

2. Sequence (00:10:40-00:15:39): The existential meaning of work for humans

Time-code	Camera	Speaker	In-class conversation	Other classroom activities
00:10:40	chalk-board	Tf	Um, and that is what I wanted to ask you about now. When you look at the whole thing, everything we have written down, then work is extremely important. So what does it mean for the individual? (2) ^o	
00:10:58	class	Sm7	His whole life.	Sm7, Sf1 raise their hands; Sm4, Sm18 raise their hands
		Tf	Yes.	
		Sm?	Basically the experience of success.	
		Sm18	A (meaningful) undertaking.	Sm13 raises his hand
00:11:16	chalk-board	Sm4	Employment against (work), against boredom. (.) ^o	Tf points to Sf1
00:11:17	class	Sf1	Improvement in the standard of living. ^o	Tf points left
		Sf?	Life (determining) of an individual.	
		Sm?	Self-validation, so what, how you work, what you (do)	
		Tf	How you work is how you ^L (Thus you can).	
		Sm?	^L live.	Tf nods, points to Sm13
		Sm13	Work is the basis of everything else.	
		Tf	Which answer did you like best of all the ones here, you've been listening to them all. Which answer covers everything that we've said here?	Sm7 raises his hand, Tf points left
		Sf?	I thought (Martin's) was pretty good..	Sm13 smiles
		Tf	(Martin), can you repeat that?	
		Sm13	Work is the basis for everything.	
		Tf	Yes.	
		Sm7	Um, I thought Marten's, so, work is life.	S?3 lowers hand.
		Tf	Yes, work is the basis. What else did you want to say?	
		S?3	I would also say, Marten's (life)	
		Tf	Good. Then I would say, that we write these answers down. Work, maybe we can turn that into a nice sentence, Marten.	
		Sm13	Work is the basis for the other, um, experiences, in life.	
00:12:23	chalk-board	Tf	Work, you said it differently, is the ^o basis (5) of what?	Tf writes something on the chalkboard.
		Sm13	Life.	Tf closed the left wing of the chalkboard, writes: "Work is the basis", turns to class
		Tf	For whose life?	Sf1 raises her hand briefly
		Sm13	The individual's	
00:12:50	partial	Tf	Yes. For (6) human life (..) ^o . And that includes the individual. Okay with this phrase? Yes? Everyone? So we've got everything covered. These thoughts about work that we have just ^o made have been thought about by a lot of people, not just us. Because it's, like we just said, the basis of everything that determines the life of a human, of course you have to think about that, right. And other people have come to this same conclusion. One of them, I think the one who had the most definitive thoughts about it, is Friedrich Engels, and Karl Marx of course. And Friedrich Engels wrote this. And I put a part of the quote	Tf turns to the chalkboard, writes, "for human life."; Sm12 turns to the side, speaks (?), laughs
00:12:58	chalk-board			

00:13:36	class		on the chalkboard and now you have" the following assignment: Compare that what Engels said about work and the role of work for people with what you came up with."	Sm2 sits up, stretches his back Tf go towards the chalkboard Tf opens up the right wing of the chalkboard On the chalkboard: "Work is the source of all wealth. It is the basic condition for life... it created people." Tf pushes up the chalkboard, goes to the side.
00:13:46	chalk-board			
00:13:59	class	Tf	(3) and then tell me what you think about that. (8)° (3) Carsten.	Sm10 raises his hand S?3, Sm4 raise their hands, Tf points left S?3 lowers hand Sm10 lowers his hand
		Sm?	So, it's about the same, just a bit better stated.	
		Tf	What do you think?	
		Sm4	Um, I don't really understand that, it created people.	S?3 raises hand S?3 holds up his hand high in the air to respond.
		Tf	Hmm, think about your biology class. Where did standing upright come from?	
		S?	(Apes)	
		Sm4	@from apes.	S?3 puts hand down Sf9 smiles Sm10, Sm11 grin
		Tf	@heh-heh@ Engels also said that humans came from apes, we're not quite of the same opinion there. Uh, they have the same origin. The – go ahead.	Sm10 coughs Sm10 raises hand; Tf points to Sm10.
		Sm10	Through work that they had to do earlier.	
		Tf	Human thought was constructed, the human hand, upright gait, that is, that through the work that humans did, namely to be able to live, (through work we can), if it is a savage or if it's a modern, civilised human, work has to be done to live, must () can be fed. You have to earn your living. And since humans were forced to, they turned to new instruments for help, yes, they used tools and this development made humans develop into that what we call a human today, with a highly developed consciousness, with language and with a, with a universal instrument. Your two hands with ten fingers, and of course standing upright. So, all this is work for people°, and you have shown that beautifully.	Tf makes a gesture of support; Tf turns briefly to the chalkboard Tf bends forward Eye contact Sm10, Sm11 Sm10 turns to Sm13, Sm13 demonstratively crosses his arms on the desk, Sm10, Sm11 cross their arms in imitation
00:15:37	chalk-board			Tf walks towards the chalkboard. Tf stand behind the lectern.
00:15:39				



2. Sequenz (00:10:40-00:15:39): Die existentielle Bedeutung der Arbeit für den Menschen

Zeit	Kamera	SprecherIn	Unterrichtsgespräch	Andere Aktivitäten
00:10:40	Tafel	Lw	Äh, und das wollt ich euch jetzt eigentlich fragen. Wenn ihr euch das Ganze mal ansieht, was wir hier zusammen getragen haben, dann ist doch die Arbeit außerordentlich wichtig. Was bedeutet sie für den einzelnen Menschen eigentlich? (2)°	
00:10:58	Klasse	Sm7	Sein ganzes Leben.	Sm7, Sw1 melden sich, Sm4, Sm18 melden sich
		Lw	Ja.	
		Sm?	Ebent ein Erfolgserlebnis.	
		Sm18	Eine (erfüllende) Aufgabe.	Sm13 meldet sich
00:11:16	Tafel	Sm4	Beschäftigung gegen (die Arbeit), gegen Langeweile. (.)°	Lw zeigt zu Sw1
00:11:17	Klasse	Sw1	Verbesserung des Lebensniveaus.°	Lw zeigt nach links
		Sm?	Das Leben (bestimmend) eines Einzelnen.	
		Sm?	Eigene Bestätigung von sich selbst, also was-, wie man arbeitet, was man (arbeitet)	
		Lw	L (So kann man). Wie man arbeitet, so kann man	
		Sm?	L leben.	Lw nickt, zeigt zu Sm13
		Sm13	Arbeit ist der Ausgangspunkt für alles andere.	
		Lw	Welche Antwort hat euch denn jetzt eigentlich am besten gefallen, von allen, die hier gekommen sind, ihr habt doch zugehört. Welche Antwort hat, das alles enthält eigentlich alles, was wir hier gesagt haben?	Sm7 meldet sich, Lw zeigt nach links
		Sw?	Ich fand (Martin) seine ganz gut.	Sm13 lächelt
		Lw	(Martin), wiederholst du noch mal?	
		Sm13	Arbeit ist der Ausgangspunkt für alles andere.	
		Lw	Ja.	
		Sm7	Äh, ich fand Marten seine, Arbeit ist Leben, also.	S?3 nimmt Arm herunter
		Lw	Ja, Arbeit ist der Ausgangspunkt. Du wolltest noch was sagen?	
		S?3	Ich würd auch sagen, von Marten (Leben)	
		Lw	Gut. Dann würd ich sagen, schreiben wir uns mal diese Aussage an. Die Arbeit, vielleicht formulieren wir das noch mal schön im Satz, Marten	
		Sm13	Die Arbeit ist der Ausgangspunkt für die andren, äh, Erlebnisse, im Leben	
00:12:23	Tafel	Lw	Die Arbeit, du hast es noch anders gesagt, ist der° Ausgangspunkt (5) wofür?	Lw schreibt etwas an die Tafel Lw hat linke Tafelseite zugeklappt, schreibt: „Die Arbeit ist der Ausgangspunkt“, dreht sich zur Klasse, Sw1 meldet sich kurz
		Sm13	Das Leben.	
		Lw	Für das Leben wessen?	
		Sm13	Des Einzelnen.	
00:12:50	Auschnitt	Lw	Ja. Für das Leben (6) des Menschen (..)°. Und da is ja der Einzelne erfasst. Einverstanden mit der Formulierung? Ja? Alle? Ham wer alles drin. Diese Gedanken um die Arbeit, die wir uns jetzt° ebent gemacht ham, ham sich	Lw dreht sich zur Tafel, schreibt: „für das Leben des Menschen“ Sm12 dreht sich zur Seite, spricht (?), lacht
00:12:58	Tafel			

00:13:36	Klasse		natürlich schon viele Menschen gemacht, nicht nur wir. Denn weil sie ja grade, wie ihr gesagt habt, der Ausgangspunkt für alles, was das Leben des Menschen bestimmt, ist, muss man natürlich darüber nachdenken, nich. Und zu dieser Erkenntnis sind also andere schon gekommen. Und einer von ihnen, ich glaube derjenige, der die entscheidendsten Gedanken gehabt hat, ist Friedrich Engels, und Karl Marx natürlich. Und Friedrich Engels hat das auch formuliert. Und ich habe euch ein Teil dieser Formulierung als Zitat mal an die Tafel geschrieben und ihr habt jetzt mal° folgende Aufgabe: Vergleicht mal das, was Engels gesagt hat zur Arbeit und zur Rolle der Arbeit für den Menschen mit dem, was ihr festgestellt habt.°	Sm2 richtet sich auf, streckt Rücken Lw geht Richtung Tafel Lw klappt rechte Tafelseite zu, Tafelanschrift: „Die Arbeit ist die Quelle allen Reichtums. Sie ist die erste Grundbedingung allen Lebens... Sie hat den Menschen selbst geschaffen.“ Lw schiebt Tafel nach oben, tritt zur Seite
00:13:46	Tafel			
00:13:59	Klasse	Lw	(3) und sagt mir eure Meinung dazu. (8)°	
			(3) Carsten.	Sm10 meldet sich S?3, Sm4 melden sich, Lw zeigt nach links
		Sm?	Also, ist fast das Gleiche, bloß ist es etwas besser ausformuliert.	S?3 nimmt Arm runter Sm10 nimmt Arm runter
		Lw	Was meinst du?	
		Sm4	Na, ick versteh das nich ganz. Sie hat den Menschen selbst geschaffen.	S?3 meldet sich
		Lw	Äh, denkt mal an den Biologieunterricht. Woher kommt der aufrechte Gang?	S?3 streckt Arm durch beim Melden
		S?	(Affen)	
		Sm4	@Vom Affen.	S?3 nimmt Arm runter Sw9 lächelt, Sm10, Sm11 grinsen
		Lw	@Hehe@ Engels hat auch gesagt, der Mensch stammt vom Affen ab, aber ich glaube, da sind wir nicht ganz so einer Meinung, ja. Äh, sie haben gleiche Ausgangspunkte. Der-, bitte.	Sm10 hustet Sm10 meldet sich Lw zeigt zu Sm10.
		Sm10	Durch die Arbeit, die se früher verrichten mussten.	
		Lw	Hat sich ausgebildet das Denken des Menschen, die Hand des Menschen, der aufrechte Gang, das heißt, durch die Arbeit, die der Mensch verrichtet, nämlich um leben zu können, (könn wer durch Arbeiten), ob das der Urmensch ist oder ob das der moderne, zivilisierte Mensch ist, Arbeit muss geleistet werden, um leben zu können, muss () dich ernähren können. Du musst doch deinen Lebensunterhalt schaffen können. Und dadurch dass der Mensch dazu gezwungen war, hat er sich ja immer neue Hilfsmittel genommen, ja, er hat also Werkzeuge benutzt und durch diese Entwicklung hat sich der Mensch eigentlich zu dem entwickelt, was er heute als Mensch ist, mit einem ausgeprägten Bewusstsein, mit einer Sprache und mit einer, mit einem Universalhandwerkzeug. Deine beiden Hände mit zehn Fingern, und natürlich dem aufrechten Gang. So. Das alles ist also die Arbeit für den Menschen°, und das habt ihr ganz auszeichnet gemacht.	Lw gestikuliert unterstützend Lw dreht sich kurz zur Tafel Lw beugt sich nach vorne Blickkontakt Sm10, Sm11 Sm10 dreht sich um zu Sm13, Sm13 deutet gestisch verschränkte Hände auf dem Tisch an, Sm10, Sm11, Sm13 verschränken die Arme
00:15:37	Tafel			Lw geht Richtung Tafel Lw steht hinterm Pult
00:15:39				